

Illinois U Library Town Meeting

JANUARY 3, 1946



BULLETIN OF AMERICA'S TOWN MEETING OF THE AIR

BROADCAST BY STATIONS OF THE AMERICAN BROADCASTING CO.



What Must We Do To Denazify the German People?

Moderator, GEORGE V. DENNY, JR.

Speakers

EDUARD C. LINDEMAN

H. V. KALTENBORN

GREGOR ZIEMER

LEO M. CHERNE

(See also page 12)

COMING

—January 10, 1946—

Should Congress Approve the Proposed Four-and-Three-Quarter Billion Dollar Loan to Britain?

Published by THE TOWN HALL, Inc., New York 18, N.Y.



★ ★ ★ C O N T E N T S ★ ★ ★

The account of the meeting reported in this Bulletin was transcribed from recordings made of the actual broadcast and represents the exact content of the meeting as nearly as such mechanism permits. The publishers and printer are not responsible for the statements of the speakers or the points of view presented.

THE BROADCAST OF JANUARY 3:

"What Must We Do To Denazify the German People?"

Mr. DENNY	3
Mr. KALTENBORN	5
Mr. LINDEMAN	7
Mr. CHERNE	9
Mr. ZIEMER	11
THE SPEAKERS' COLUMN	12
QUESTIONS, PLEASE!	19

THE BROADCAST OF JANUARY 10:

"Should Congress Approve the Proposed Four-and-Three-Quarter Billion Dollar Loan to Britain?"

The Broadcast of January 3, 1946, originated in the Cleveland Music Hall, Cleveland, Ohio, from 8:30 to 9:30 p.m., E.S.T., over the American Broadcasting Company Network.

Town Meeting is published by The Town Hall, Inc., Town Meeting Publication Office: 400 S. Front St., Columbus 15, Ohio. Send subscriptions and single copy orders to Town Hall, 123 West 43rd St., New York 18, N.Y. Subscription price, \$4.50 a year, 10c a copy. Entered as second-class matter, May 9, 1942, at the Post Office at Columbus, Ohio, under the Act of March 3, 1897.

Illinois U Library Town Meeting



BULLETIN OF AMERICA'S TOWN MEETING OF THE AIR

GEORGE V. DENNY, JR., MODERATOR



JANUARY 3, 1946

VOL. 11, No. 36

What Must We Do To Denazify the German People?

Announcer:

Town Hall and the American Broadcasting Company, through station WJW in Cleveland, bring you another stirring session of America's Town Meeting — the program that gives you both sides of questions affecting your life and mine.

Tonight we're the guests of the Cleveland Sesquicentennial Commission and a special Town Meeting Host Committee of representative civic and educational organizations, headed by Dean Herbert Hunsaker, of Cleveland College of Western Reserve University. This is the initial event in an extensive series of programs planned to celebrate the 150th Anniversary of the founding of the City of Cleveland.

Now in his usual post is the genial president of Town Hall, New York's founder and moderator of America's Town Meeting, Mr. George V. Denny, Jr. Mr. Denny. (*Applause.*)

Moderator Denny:

Good evening, neighbors. America's Town Meeting is distinctly honored to be the first event in the great celebration planned by the Cleveland Sesquicentennial Commission to extend through the year 1946. We feel a special attachment to this friendly, progressive city of great industries and beautiful homes, for it was in Cleveland, in February, 1939, that we made our first origination away from our home base in Town Hall, New York.

I'm sure that Americans everywhere take pride in the initiative, vision, and courage demonstrated by the people of Cleveland over the past 150 years in building this great city to be the sixth largest in the United States, and many of them will join with you during the coming year in celebrating your 150th Anniversary as we do tonight with Cleveland as the center of a nation-wide Town Meeting, brought together by 189 sta-

tions of the American Broadcasting Company.

Now to our subject, "What Must We Do To Denazify the German People?" When you were a youngster in school, did you ever have a fight with a bully? If you did, you know that even if you licked him you didn't quite dispose of the problem. He'd just be waiting around for some chance to get back at you. When you were a little older, you probably took a course in psychology and learned, among other things, about the nature of bullies—what makes them as they are and how the psychologists think they can be cured.

I think most of our speakers will agree that nazism is essentially an excessive type of bullyism. When we've had a nation led and indoctrinated for a period of 12 years by a gang of bullies, we have a real problem on our hands.

You remember there was a time when it could be said with reasonable accuracy "to the victor belongs the spoils." Prophetically enough, the great stage comedian, Willie Collier, a generation ago, used to paraphrase this with, "To der victor belongs der spoiled goots."

War itself is rotten business but the spoils of war are worse. For in this soil the seeds of other wars grow and flourish if they are not dealt with courageously and intelligently. Let's ask ourselves, are we

choking the growth of nazism in German soil today with our system of four zones of occupation?

According to official War Department figures, the United States occupies a zone of approximately 42,500 square miles, a little larger than the State of Ohio, or 24 per cent of the total. The British occupy 36,800 square miles, or 20 per cent of the total. The French have a sector 16,500 square miles, or 9 per cent of the total. The Russians occupy 46,400 square miles, or 25 per cent of the total, while Poland, under Russian jurisdiction, occupies 39,100 square miles, or 22 per cent of the total, which gives Russia actual control over 85,000 square miles, or 47 per cent of the total. These zones are administered according to the sovereign dictates of these four sovereign powers.

Now Dr. Gregor Ziemer, one-time head of the American School in Berlin and author of *Education for Death*, has recently returned from the American zone of occupation where he was attached to the American Military Government of the 4th Armored Division.

Dr. Eduard Lindeman, professor of sociology of the New York School for Social Work, has recently returned from an extensive tour of the British zone.

Mr. Leo Cherne, executive secretary of the Research Institute of America, returned only ten days ago from a visit to the three

major zones, Russian, British, and American.

H. V. Kaltenborn, dean of American commentators, has made so many trips to Germany that he is well qualified to speak as an authority on the nature of the German people before and during the Nazi regime.

These four experts will be rigorously questioned first by four former GI's, who were with our occupation forces in Germany, and then we'll have the customary question period from this representative audience, as well as selected questions from our radio audience.

We are sorry that Mr. Kaltenborn can't be with us here in person tonight, but he'll speak and answer the questions just as if he were here through the miracle of this radio network. He's standing by in New York ready to give the first answer to tonight's question, "What Must We Do To Denazify the German People?" So let's hear from the Dean himself, H. V. Kaltenborn in New York. Mr. Kaltenborn. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Kaltenborn:

We have occupied Germany for less than a year. Whether our occupation has been a failure or success depends upon what you expected. Most people expected too much. In the American zone, we have investigated one million Germans. We have arrested practically all outstanding Nazis. Nearly 200,000 Nazis have been placed in

the unemployable class. The principal leaders are about to be condemned after trial. Some of the worst of the war criminals have already been executed.

Some nine million impoverished Germans expelled from Russia, the Baltic States, Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia, eastern Germany, are being cared for in those parts of Germany which we and the British occupy. Several million refugees have been repatriated to their homelands.

In all zones, Germany has been completely disarmed. Her huge war industry has been demobilized, exported, or destroyed. Thus, in about nine months, the first task of military occupation, that of making Germany completely helpless, has been effectively completed.

Germany has become a social and political vacuum. Her people are helpless, hopeless, and half starved. In that vacuum, Russian totalitarianism and western democracy are now competing for recruits. If the Russians succeed in replacing nazism with communism, our efforts to democratize Germany will have failed. With German cooperation, communism can take over most of Europe within a generation. If Germany goes democratic she can help in the slow process of democratizing western Europe including Russia. Nazism in its more extreme manifestations is dead but militarism, nationalism, and state socialism

are not dead. These three provided 90 per cent of the appeal which made Hitler a popular idol.

We are sentimental fools if we think that any kind of military occupation can transform the German spirit in one generation. Military occupation through all the ages has only stimulated nationalism and patriotic resistance. Commissar Molotov was right when he told the Supreme Council of the Soviet Union, "You cannot destroy such an ideology as Hitlerism by force."

Military occupation is a task for totalitarians. A democratically-minded people is bound to dislike it. And how could any one of the four occupying countries operate efficiently while Germany remains divided into four separate zones directed to four different purposes?

The Russians are trying to make Germany safe for communism.

The French are chiefly interested in security for France.

The British want a peaceful Germany with which they can trade.

We want to save the German soul and go home.

To expect Germany to become at the same time communistic for the Russians, completely helpless for the French, peacefully commercial for the British, and safe for democratic salvation for the Americans is expecting the impossible.

Is there a solution? Not while four occupying authorities pursue four separate purposes. As for that democratic salvation about which we are so much concerned, that must come from the Germans. All we can do is to help the Germans help themselves. Democracy cannot be imposed. We can show the Germans the way, but they themselves must be minded to follow it.

Burning Nazi books will only cause them to be reprinted. Punishing minor Nazis who joined the party because of it was expedient or patriotic will only create resentment. We have done far too little to seek out and reward those thousands of Germans and their families who suffered and sacrificed because they were anti-Nazis.

We are just beginning to get the facts about the strong resistance movement that persisted in Germany through the war, yet the friends of these persecuted families are not permitted to send them a book, a bit of food, or an article of clothing. Only the Army is permitted to supply just enough to prevent hunger riots. If you ask why, you will be told that American public opinion will not tolerate relief for German children.

In Aachen, Germany, a year ago I talked with a German burgomaster who was doing his best to cooperate with our military government. He was killed by Nazi gangsters a few weeks later. His

story taught me how difficult it is for a military organization to combine democracy and efficiency in governing a foreign people. It takes a strong character to exercise despotic power with fairness and discretion.

The Russians took an easy way out. They killed the leading Nazis, sent able-bodied German males to slave labor in Russia, and turned the remaining Nazis over to the German Communists. "Well," you ask, "what should we do?" In the first place, we should insist on a unified German administration even at the risk of giving communism a better chance to make converts.

I would not yield to the French demand for a separate Ruhr and Rhineland unless the German people themselves asked for it.

I would allow Germany's Catholic areas complete autonomy and political independence if they desired it.

I would, also, use the present opportunity to eliminate economic barriers between Germany and neighbor countries.

I would insist on the free navigation of all straits, lakes, rivers, and canals as demanded by President Truman. This would make some small beginnings toward a United States of Europe.

I would turn over to the United Nations the task of keeping Germany demilitarized. An organization that can handle the atomic

bomb should be able to handle a defeated, amputated Germany. In that kind of Europe there will never again be a Nazi Germany. Tomorrow's Germany will never be a danger until Germany finds allies.

If totalitarianism engulfs Europe, Germany will provide the totalitarians with scientific and military leadership. If democracy wins, Germany will accept the democratic way and help to strengthen the United Nations. (*Applause.*)

Moderator Denny:

Thank you, Mr. Kaltenborn, for laying it on the line in your customary frank fashion. Now back in the Music Hall in Cleveland, you've brought Dr. Eduard C. Lindeman of the New York School for Social Work, to his feet and he's ready to answer you and give his answer to the question "What Must We Do To Denazify the German People?" Dr. Lindeman. (*Applause.*)

Dr. Lindeman:

I dislike very much to begin by disagreeing with the dean of American radio commentators, but I certainly cannot accept Mr. Kaltenborn's statement that nazism is dead. Nor do I agree with his desire for establishing a separate Catholic state out of Russia. Nor do I agree with him when he assumes that there is a bona fide, prodemocratic German underground in present-day Germany.

Although it is less than two months since I left Germany, I have not yet been able to shake off the horror of what I there saw and heard. When a modern nation eliminates its sensitive and its humane leaders as Germany did, the degenerates come to the top and control.

I saw many of these dehumanized Nazis. I visited Camp Belsen, that most efficient human slaughtering house. I looked into the faces of the officers of that camp as they were being tried at the Court House in Luneburg. I heard their shocking testimony and thus the question which we are discussing tonight became both real and important to me.

When the United States and its Allies imposed upon Germany unconditional surrender, they thereby assumed the responsibility for setting the conditions according to which Germany was to return to the family of civilized nations. One of these conditions was that the Nazi regime was to be completely liquidated.

How is this to be accomplished? The simplest answer to this question is the one which, alas, many of our policy makers seem to have taken, namely: see that no former Nazi is permitted to hold public office, to teach in a school or university, or to be in a position for influencing public opinion.

This program, no matter how efficiently carried out, will never

achieve the results desired. It overlooks the fact that the German disease goes far beyond Hitler and his degenerate satellites.

Hitler and the Nazis were symbols of a principle which was deeply imbedded in the German philosophy, in German institutions, and in the German mind. Unless we are willing to take the trouble to tackle this job by creating a new generation of Germans, freed from this twisted set of ideas, we cannot possibly fulfill our fateful mission.

My program for denazifying Germany consists of a series of do's and don'ts.

In the first place, we should stop placing faith in so-called good Germans. When I landed in Germany, my first purpose was to find these good Germans—the so-called underground—those citizens who never capitulated to the Nazis, neither did they suffer demoralization in concentration camps. There are such Germans, and I found them, but they are a whining, defeated, and a discouraged lot. They have lived in darkness far too long.

Next, we should stop trying to teach democracy directly. There is no soil in the German mind in which democratic ideas can grow. They look upon such teaching as nothing more than propaganda and consequently intensify their resistance.

The purely military phase of the occupation should be brought to an end as quickly as possible, but this should be followed by a civilian administration consisting of the finest talent available and specially trained for this purpose. This corps should be recruited on the basis of a long occupation—a full generation at least—that is, from 25 to 30 years.

I do not say that it will require this amount of time to guarantee a Germany prepared to renounce military aggression and racial superiority — that is, a Germany which is not likely to start another war—but it is my belief that we cannot be certain until a new generation of young people is ready to assume responsibility for the control of German life.

The principal task, of course, is education. In this connection it is absurd to believe that German teachers capable of regenerating the German mind are now available. I visited many schools and I saw not a single teacher to whom I would entrust this delicate task. In spite of the fact that I firmly believe education to be the key to German regeneration, I must not underestimate the economic factor. I have finally come to the conclusion that future Germans should not again be allowed to use that great war potential which exists in the Rhineland, Ruhr, and Saar, namely that vast and efficient industrial equipment without which

Germany could never have become a war military power. This region should not, however, become a pawn for other nations. It should be denationalized and operated at a high level of efficiency producing goods for Germany and all of Europe but divorced from control by any sovereign state.

The above program for Germany will require courage, persistence, and statesmanship of high order. If this job is not done well, the fascist disease will foster in central Europe and it will spread. If we do not find a way to correct it, we may ourselves become its next victims. (*Applause.*)

Moderator Denny:

Thank you, Dr. Lindeman, for an equally frank statement. Now, let's hear from a man who has just returned from Germany and the three major zones of occupation, Mr. Leo Cherne, executive secretary of the Research Institute of America. Mr. Cherne. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Cherne:

Thank you, George Denny. In this luxurious, unscarred auditorium it's so hard to recall the degradation I saw in Germany just a very few days ago. At this distance, as a matter of fact, it's even easy to discuss the extermination of the Germany people.

But, if we are not ready to wipe out all those who live on German soil, we must not create the indelible will in tomorrow's Ger-

man to wipe us out. If we are not permanently to police Germany, we must be certain when we leave that there is an environment in which police will be unnecessary. But, with all the respect I feel for Dr. Lindeman and his profession, in seeking these results, I wouldn't put all my eggs in a basket carried by a group of teachers.

I want to state flatly that I don't believe that there is something inherently destructive in the German people. The many German-Americans who have made a brilliant contribution to our way of life are ample proof. If more proof is necessary, note the violence and the size of the Gestapo, the concentration camps, the secret police inside Germany. Without a German will to resist nazism, there would have been no need for the lash, the jail, the informer, and the death sentence.

Certainly there are environmental differences in Germany which have made for a series of evil aberrations that we call German and which must be changed. We must eliminate the caste system in Germany. The military Junker, the baronial landowner, the conspiratorial industrialist, and the tyrannical bureaucrat who acts as though the authority were vested in him by God must all fall from their pedestals.

All the instruments of independence and criticism must be strengthened. The most depress-

ing characteristic I found throughout Germany was the docility of the German people, the sheeplike shrug of the shoulders which always seems to say, "If it's in the regulations, it must be."

The German must be taught never again to say, "Yes, Master." Once he has learned that, he will never again be able to say "Master race."

The most important unit in any nation's life — the family — is a diseased unit in Germany. So completely is the father the master, so subservient and without personality of her own is the mother, so docile and apologetic are the children, that the dignity of the individual and the full, free, and independent play of genuine, democratic life never had a chance.

For this there are two remedies, neither one of which will produce results overnight. The women must be made genuine participants in the economic and political life of the nation. The children, in every educational process they go through, must be taught an entirely new family culture—a feeling of respect for both parents and blind, fearful acceptance of neither.

Let us build a new Oak Ridge, Tennessee, and make it all of Germany, and let the scientists, whose province is the mind, establish the outlines of the job and the methods.

But the solution of the German problem will not be found solely

in Germany. In a world diseased by nationalism, either a German or some other nationalism will arise to challenge peace. In a world that lives by the strength of arms, the secret will to rearm will again arise in Germany or threaten from another source.

If you want law and peace in any country, then that country must be a part of a world that rests upon law and peace. Cut the cancer of nationalism out of this world. Build a world government founded on law and we won't have to stand watch on the Rhine or the Danube or the Volga or they on the Mississippi. (*Applause.*)

Destroying German industry while Germans fester in their idleness will not denazify Germany. Using that machinery for the welfare of all of Europe will. Let's scrap the Potsdam Agreement before Potsdam scraps the last hope of democracy in Europe.

Hard peace will not denazify Germany if the pressure crushes those who resisted nazism, together with those who supported it. There will be no democratic or peaceful Germans in a prostrate or totalitarian Germany.

A healthy, rehabilitated, democratic Europe is the first requisite for the denazification of Germany, and Dr. Lindeman, you cannot denazify a corpse or teach his hungry children. You can only disinfect or segregate.

A healthy world, a federated democratic Europe, a people cleansed of the myths of race or the weakling's needs for a leader, a community in which the guilty have been punished and the innocent enabled to restore their own dignity with hope and a specific job to do—that's the cure. Or put it another way: If we can succeed in building a world that can safely house the atom, it will also safely contain the Germans. (*Applause.*)

Moderator Denny:

Thank you, Leo Cherne. I expect you are going to find a little disagreement from our next speaker who was for 12 years head of the American School in Berlin and who returned to this country a few years ago and wrote the book *Education for Death*, which was made into a movie called *Hitler's Children*. Until recently he was with the 4th Armored Division in the American zone of occupation. Dr. Gregor Ziemer. (*Applause.*)

Dr. Ziemer:

Mr. Kaltenborn, with that wisdom which comes when you are a dean, has indicated that we can't expect to accomplish anything in Germany until we first have a unified German administration, but I think he will agree that it will be some time before we persuade the Russians to adopt this unified German administration.

THE SPEAKERS' COLUMN

LEO M. CHERNE—Leo Cherne, executive director of the Research Institute of America, Inc., and author of the best-seller, *M-Day and What It Means to You* (1940), was born in 1912 in New York City. He attended the New York Public schools and from 1929 to 1932, New York University where he specialized in journalism and sociology. From New York Law School, he received the LL.B. degree in 1934. While still in college, Mr. Cherne was editor of the *Triboro News* and, on leaving law school, became editor of the *Putman Times*. For one year, he also engaged in the practice of law.

In 1936, Mr. Cherne joined forces with the Research Institute, an organization formed in the early 1930's to aid businessmen in understanding and interpreting the many new laws being enacted by Congress concerning taxes, wages and hours, fair practices, and similar affairs. From a one-room organization, the Institute has grown until it now occupies an entire New York skyscraper and maintains staffs in both New York and Washington.

In addition to his writings in connection with the Institute, Mr. Cherne has produced numerous articles and books, such as *Adjusting Your Business to New Legislation*, *Guide to Tax Economy*, *Adjusting Your Business to War*, *M-Day and the Business Man*, and *Your Business Goes to War*.

HANS V. KALTENBORN—Dean of radio commentators, H. V. Kaltenborn made his first news broadcast in 1922. Born in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, Mr. Kaltenborn was graduated from Harvard in 1909 with an A.B. cum laude. Since then, he has received several honorary degrees. For twenty years, 1910-1930, he was associated with the Brooklyn *Eagle*. In 1930, he left the *Eagle* for WABC, key station for the Columbia network. Since 1940, he has been with the National Broadcasting Company. Mr. Kaltenborn has been radio reporter for many political conventions, League of Nations sessions, Pan American Peace Conferences, and the like. His honors and citations for meritorious radio reporting are too numerous to mention. He was awarded a gold plaque for the best foreign radio reporting covering the Spanish front in 1936, when he took the microphone on the field and made possible the first radio transmission of artillery and machine-gun fire during actual combat. Mr. Kaltenborn is the author of several books and many magazine articles. Among his books are *We Look at the World*, *Kaltenborn Edits the News* and *I Broadcast the Crisis*. Mr.

Kaltenborn is widely traveled and has a knowledge of several foreign languages including French, German, and Italian.

EDUARD CHRISTIAN LINDEMAN—Professor of Social Philosophy at New York School of Social Work at Columbia University since 1924, Dr. Lindeman recently returned from Germany where he was educational consultant in the British Zone of occupied Germany. Dr. Lindeman was born in St. Clair, Michigan, in 1885. He has a B.S. degree from Michigan Agricultural College, an honorary H. M. from Springfield College and an L.L.D. from Wagner Memorial Lutheran College.

After editing *The Gleaner* for one year in Detroit, Dr. Lindemann became a social worker in Lansing. From 1915 to 1917 he was a teacher and extension worker at Michigan Agricultural College. The next year he taught at the Y.M.C.A. College in Chicago. From 1919 to 1921 he was on the staff of North Carolina College for Women. He has also lectured at many other schools and universities since he joined the staff of Columbia in 1924.

Dr. Lindeman has been and is a member of too many educational and social service groups to mention here. He is also the author of several books including *Leisure: A National Issue*; *Wealth and Culture*; *Social Education*; and *Dynamic Social Research*.

GREGOR ZIEMER—Well-known radio commentator, author, and educator, has returned from the American Zone of Germany where he was a member of the Office of War Information.

Mr. Ziener was born in Columbia, Michigan, in 1899. He has a B.A. from the University of Illinois; an M.A. from the University of Minnesota; and a Ph.D. from the University of Berlin. He has been head of the journalism department of Park Region Junior College; supervisor of schools of the Philippine Islands; and founder of the American Colony School in Berlin. He has also been Berlin correspondent for the *New York Herald*, the *London Daily Mail*, and the *Chicago Tribune*, and radio newscaster over WLW, Cincinnati. During the war he was with the OWI.

Mr. Ziener is the author of *Two Thousand and Ten Days of Hitler* (with his daughter Patsy); *Education for Death: The Making of the Nazi*; and the motion pictures, *Hitler's Children* and *Education for Death*. He has also contributed articles to many magazines.

What are we Americans to do meanwhile in our American zone? Just wait? Or, as the Army puts it, hurry up and wait?

Mr. Cherne, with youthful exuberance, hints to us that if he had to select one rule to guide us in denazifying the German people, it would be "Don't do the obvious."

As Dr. Warren once put it, "The trouble with public debate is, it loses itself in clichés." Why *not* do the obvious? If we use the wisdom God gave us—if He gave us any—we should be able to correlate the correct solution and the obvious one.

Dr. Lindeman intimates we should stop putting our faith in so-called "good Germans," while "H. V." seems to indicate that some Germans do merit help from the outside. But who is there to be the final judge of which Germans are good and which are bad? They are all good Germans from the German point of view.

American soldiers, for the purpose of self-preservation were told there were no good Germans. Now, many of them are changing their minds. It's all a bit confusing. And now that I have confused myself by trying to recall what the others have said, let me say, I think that in this discussion so far we have been a bit selfish. We have judged everything by standards of the present—our generation. Are there any among my listeners who

dare think with me of the future generation?

Mr. Cherne said if we succeed in building a world that can house the atom, it will also safely contain the Germans. But why not alter that and say, "Let's see to it that the future generation of Germans will never again become a menace to the world, no matter whether we split the uranium, the thorium, the silicon, or the hydrogen atom."

I give credit to military government in Germany for having done a fine job along the functional and administrative. I saw them work in combat and I admired them. M. G. did first things first, but now the time has come to think of the future.

If we Americans could get our busy noses out of the murky past and the disturbing present long enough to develop more faith for the future, as the Russians give the impressions of doing—and the Russians can give impressions, I assure you—we would realize that even if Public Law No. 8 does dismiss all Nazis from public offices, there is still danger of civil war within Germany in five years unless we prevent it.

Man cannot live by bread alone. The Germans, in spite of horrible ruins, hunger, disease, rape, and disorder, need new thoughts, new ideas. They will create their own ideas and give them to their children, too, unless we give them hope that government, as we know

it, can work even for them, modified, of course, to fit the German character.

And so I say, perhaps we should have a unified government in Germany, but until we get it, let's not waste time. Let's not argue too much about good and bad Germans. Most Germans, even the greatest scoundrels among them, can be very nice if they think it will get them anything.

I consider the present generation of Germans a lost generation. The best we can do with them is to control them. I am thinking of the next generation. Mr. Kaltenborn does not think we can change the Germans in one generation, but we can certainly compel them to use different methods, think different thoughts. As the fox said to the goose, "I can't change you into a fox, but I can certainly stop you from being a goose." We did accomplish wonders in education in the Philippines in one generation. I know, because I helped a little.

I say re-educate the Germans. Thus far we have done a very sketchy job of fussing around with this re-education. A friend of mine from Evanston, now in Munich, recently sent me a copy of the German textbook. Seven million German children in the American zone are using one grade of reader, no matter what age they are. That is how we have provided German schools with books.

It's dreary, but we must begin to realize that human minds can't play hide and seek with vacuums. The Russians have opened all their schools for children below fifteen. We are still trying to draw up a program for schools in Germany.

I propose re-educating the German children through a systematic enlightenment of the German teachers. I propose teachers' training schools in Frankfort, Heidelberg, Nuremberg, Munich. I would staff each with 250 American teachers. I would make attendance compulsory for German teachers. I would help them to help themselves, as "H. V." put it. In one year I could have a backlog of 20,000 German teachers with temporary teaching certificates. I will not give details now, but it is my conviction that while we are wasting time talking, German teachers are rearing a new generation of Pan-Germans. Dr. Lindeman will agree with me there, I think.

The minds, the spirits, the brains of the German children must be turned into new channels. Teachers can do this better than parents. Under our supervision, we would at least produce something better in German philosophy than exists now—as David Belasco liked to say, "Always something out of nothing."

But certainly as the *New York Times* put it, we must come at least a little nearer to perfection in '46 or we shall surely die. The

thought of dying is not a new one for this generation. We have become accustomed to it, but certainly enough American soldiers have died so that our next generation of Americans deserves a chance to live. (*Applause.*)

Moderator Denny:

Thank you, Dr. Ziemer. Now, gentlemen, instead of our customary huddle about the mike at this time, let's see what impressions your observations have made upon these four Cleveland GI's, all of whom were, until very recently, with our armed forces in Germany. Here we have in the audience, Mr. William Tofant, who was with the 101st Airborne Division, who's now in the Detective Bureau right here in Cleveland, and he's right down there on the front row. Mr. Tofant, I wonder if you would give us an observation on what these speakers have said and your question.

Mr. Tofant: I would like to ask Dr. Ziemer, what part, if any, could the German clergy play in the denazification of Germany?

Dr. Ziemer: What part, if any, could the German clergy play in the denazification of Germany? Of course, it's a very great question and I'll get myself into trouble. I'm a Lutheran, but I come out frankly in saying that the Catholic Church in Germany has done more to denazify Germany than has the Lutheran Church. I talked to a Bishop of Gotha, and I got the im-

pression that the Lutheran Church is not as ready to help us as the Catholic Church is and I think that every GI will tell you the same thing. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Denny: Thank you, Dr. Ziemer. Dr. Lindeman, I wonder if you have anything to add to that, please?

Dr. Lindeman: Yes. I listened to seven sermons in seven Lutheran churches while I was in Germany, and I heard nothing but escape religion, no moral guidance for the present problem, and I do not have any hope at all that the present generations of pastors and preachers in Germany will help us solve this problem. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Denny: Thank you, Dr. Lindeman. Now we have a man who has a very warm name here—Mr. James Sunshine. Not from Florida, are you? From Cleveland? Good! He's from Cleveland. He's a technician third grade. He was in the 1st and 3rd Army Medical Corps and he was in Germany from March to November, 1945. Mr. Sunshine, how about a question, or a comment?

Mr. Sunshine: I'd like to ask Dr. Ziemer a question.

Mr. Denny: Oh, Dr. Ziemer, you're getting all the questions.

Mr. Sunshine: I would like to know where, with whom, and against whom he is going to have a civil war in Germany. I believe we all know that Germany today is a social and moral an-

archy. It is also in my opinion a political anarchy. There are no parties which are capable, which send their roots deep enough into the German people, which will of their own accord provoke a civil war. Under Russian instigation we might have a civil war with the Communists on one side and some faction on the other—social democrats if you wish—but if let alone, I do not see how the German people are going to provide enough honest thought coming from themselves that will lead to a Civil War.

Mr. Denny: All right, Dr. Ziemer.

Dr. Ziemer: If the German people did contribute enough thought to their situation, there wouldn't be any civil war. It's always been my impression of the Germans, after living with them for twelve years, that if you get four Germans together, you have six different opinions. (*Laughter.*) I regret to say that unless we, in our American zone, give the Germans something constructive to think about, they will do exactly what they did during the days of the Republic and in the days before Hitler. They will mess themselves up into thirty-one or forty political groups and will start quarreling among themselves.

The Germans are hungry. They're living in slums. They're ready to jump at each other's throats right now and that's what

they're going to do if they once feel that there's nothing to live for. Then, of course, the only ones who will benefit will be the Communists. Now, if that happens, then I say America, in five years from now, should not stand up and start talking about the danger of the Red menace. Then we have no one to thank but ourselves.

Mr. Denny: I heard Mr. Kaltenborn clear his throat back there in New York. I wonder if that means he has a question.

Mr. Kaltenborn: Why, yes, George, I'm very glad that you throw the ball to me for just a moment. I think my good friend, Gregor Ziemer, is a little too pessimistic about what's going on in Germany. After all, we have 20 publications there with a circulation of three million. We have in our public schools in our zone more than 1,650,000 pupils. We are organizing free elections in Germany for local officials that are going to take place this month and no other zone has yet scheduled elections. And we've got in operation in our own zone three German state governments which we are unifying. So it seems to me that we have made a constructive contribution and things are not quite as bad as one might suppose from what he said.

Mr. Denny: Well, he wants to add something to that. Thank you, Mr. Kaltenborn. Mr. Ziemer?

Dr. Ziemer: All I want to say is that I consider it a distinction that for once I have been more pessimistic than Kaltenborn. (*Laughter and applause.*)

Mr. Denny: Now among these GI's who are going to heckle these speakers now, here's a man who was a prisoner of war for 22 months. He certainly has something to say and a question to ask. Mr. William Palgut, private first class of the First Infantry Division. He's now with the Veteran's Information Center here at Cleveland. Mr. Palgut.

Mr. Palgut: I'd like to state that I firmly believe as Mr. Cherne does, and I'd like to ask Dr. Ziemer a question.

Mr. Denny: Dr. Ziemer, you're getting them all.

Mr. Palgut: I'd like to ask him how long he thinks the re-educational program for denazifying Germany will take?

Dr. Ziemer: How long will it take to re-educate the Germans will depend entirely on how we do it. If we could get at the thing in a concentrated manner—if, as I feel we ought to do, we re-educate the teachers first and do it systematically—I feel we could make a lot of impression in one generation. As I've said before, there will be enough work to do for several generations, but we could at least make a beginning and that's what I'm interested in at this moment.

Mr. Denny: All right. Mr. Cherne.

Mr. Cherne: Well, Dr. Ziemer, I'm entirely in favor of the educational program you suggest, but I wish that you and Dr. Lindeman, who are both advancing the educational approach, would fight out among yourselves this one pivotal question. As I recall, Dr. Lindeman said that he didn't find and didn't believe there could be found a single German within Germany who would be capable of teaching the German people. Yet your program would call for the recruitment of 20,000 such Germans. I'd like to know how you'd solve that dilemma. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Denny: Well, gentlemen, he's put a nice problem to you. Dr. Lindeman, would you care to tackle that one?

Dr. Lindeman: Yes. I didn't say that there weren't Germans in Germany who could be taught to become good teachers. I said those that were now teaching that I saw were unequipped for the task and so I don't think the two positions are inconsistent at all. I think we have to find younger people who are not yet twisted and biased, who can be taught to become teachers.

Mr. Denny: Yes, we'll have to dig, dig, dig! Mr. Kaltenborn, do you want to add something there?

Mr. Kaltenborn: Yes, it seems to me that it's perfectly obvious that there must be reasonably good teachers in Germany available or

we would not have put 1,650,000 German children under their care. Now, as for the perfect teacher, I've never yet known an educator who agreed that anybody else was that. (*Laughter.*)

Mr. Denny: Well, now I hope that Gerry Turk, who's a private first class in the 103rd Infantry and the 45th Infantry, who is back here in Cleveland at work, who interviewed a great many Nazi officials over there, has a question for Mr. Kaltenborn. Have you, Mr. Turk?

Mr. Turk: Mine's for Dr. Ziemer. (*Laughter.*)

Mr. Denny: All right. Come on, Dr. Ziemer.

Mr. Turk: Dr. Ziemer, you made the statement that the American military government is doing a good job in Germany. As a member of the American occupation forces overseas, who are in direct support of military government, I want to say that I think that the occupation forces are not doing so much to denazify Germany as they are themselves being pro-Germanized. (*Applause.*) Ask any GI, who has returned from Germany and Europe, what country he likes best and he'll tell you Germany—the very country that he has fought. He'll tell you that the country is clean, that the houses are well-kept, and that the Germans are ingratiating and friendly people.

Mr. Denny: All right, Dr. Ziemer it looks like he's saying

that that goose is going to make a goose out of that fox or something. What do you say?

Dr. Ziemer: Of course, part of the goose does make part of the fox. That's very true, but what I think the honorable GI tried to indicate to us was that the soldiers returning from Germany are making comparisons not between Germany and America, but they're making comparisons between Germany and France, and Germany and Belgium, and I can understand that perfectly well. Of course, the trouble is, the soldier very often makes superficial comparisons. Germany is clean, and, as I often said and always say, the Germans, even the scoundrels, have a way of being nice when they want to be. I only hope that the soldiers are not fooled too much. I don't think it's a general rule exactly, anyway.

Mr. Denny: All right. Thank you, Dr. Ziemer. Now, before we take the questions from other members of this representative Cleveland audience, let's pause briefly for station identification.

Announcer: America's Town Meeting is reaching you from the Music Hall in Cleveland, Ohio, where we are the guests of the Cleveland Sesquicentennial Committee. We have just heard H. V. Kaltenborn, Dr. Eduard C. Lindeman, Leo Cherne, Gregor Ziemer, and four GI's discussing the question, "What Must We Do To Denazify the German People? Now

our speakers are about to take the questions from the audience. For a complete copy of this discussion, including the question period to follow immediately, send for the Town Meeting Bulletin. Just write

to Town Hall, New York 18, New York, and enclose 10 cents to cover the cost of printing and mailing. Be sure to include your zone number and allow at least two weeks for delivery. Now, Mr. Denny.

QUESTIONS, PLEASE!

Mr. Denny: To encourage good questions—questions that will help bring out facts and help clarify the discussion—Town Hall offers a \$25 Victory Bond for the question which, in the opinion of our committee of judges, is considered best among those heard tonight for this purpose. Questions must be limited to 25 words, so remember you render yourself ineligible for the \$25 Victory Bond if you try to make a speech instead of asking a question.

We'll take several questions from among those sent in by our radio audience, and here in the Music Hall ushers will pass among the audience with number cards which you can hold up to show me the name of the person to whom your question is directed. This is to prevent our taking too many questions for the same person. I'm going to start by calling on Cleveland's Number One citizen, Mayor Thomas A. Burke, to see if he has a question to start with. Mayor Burke? (*Applause.*) Don't tell me it's for Ziener.

Mayor Burke: No, it is not. I'd like to paraphrase in my ques-

tion what I think the Doctor has been telling us this evening and that is—once we destroy nazism, what do we offer as a substitute—democracy, communism, or what? Mr. Cherne?

Mr. Cherne: I'm very much afraid that as Germany stands now, we are likely to do a fairly effective job of destroying nazism and offering nothing in its place. We have the very real opportunity of presenting democracy as the dynamic program for Europe. That's our one failure in Europe. We are likely, as I said, to destroy nazism but we are not yet presenting democracy.

Mr. Denny: Thank you. Now the gentleman here in the audience with a question for Mr. Kaltenborn. Yes?

Man: Mr. Kaltenborn, if the Treaty of Versailles brought on nazism, what will our policy of dismemberment, robbery, and mass starvation lead to in Germany?

Mr. Kaltenborn: Well, obviously, it's going to produce very bad results unless it is modified. However, we are still so close to the war and to the hates engend-

ered by the war that we should not be rebuked too much because we have not yet outlined a patient, generous, charitable, constructive policy. After all, the news that's comes to us day after day from Nuremburg is not of the kind to inspire generous help for Germans. However, I am convinced, as I watch the development of public opinion in this country, that it will be only a few more weeks before we will permit help to go to German children, before the relatives of Germans in this country will be permitted to communicate with them by mail and to send in food. I'm also convinced that our program is going to be much more successful now that those of our boys who were entitled to come home and who wanted to come home are being brought home, and we're sending over men who are prepared to undertake a real job of occupation.

Mr. Denny: Thank you, Mr. Kaltenborn. The gentleman on the third row here. Yes?

Man: We don't give anything to the Germans. I want to ask him what did Germans give to all the people of the world since naziism came into power?

Mr. Cherne: Germany gave death to all the people of the world. I very much regret that it is impossible, probably at this period, yet to face the entire question of war, the entire question of what makes for war, without settling

the question on the basis of vengeance. I have presented no apology for the German people, nor do I intend to. I am concerned with what happens to all of Europe and we have the alternative in Germany of enabling Germany to work for the restoration of that which she destroyed, or destroying Germany and with Germany all of Europe as well.

Mr. Denny: Thank you. The gentleman on the third row, right here. Yes?

Man: Dr. Lindeman, do you believe that we can succeed as teacher in Germany until we have set a better example of unified America here at home?

Dr. Lindeman: The two should go hand in hand.

Mr. Denny: Thank you, very much. Now here are several questions from out of town. Mrs. Ludwig Lewisohn of New York City wants Mr. Cherne and Mr. Ziemer to comment on this question which is more or less like the one which has just been asked. Shouldn't we cease our holier-than-thou attitude toward all Germans indiscriminately and restore self-respect and pride in their truly great heritage? Mr. Cherne?

Mr. Cherne: Well, I think it's time for us to stop being silly. Let's face a very blunt question, Are you ready to exterminate all the German people? If you're ready to exterminate the German people, then adopt that solution.

If you're not, then do not create in the Germans a will to destroy us. There are things within Germany and there is much that we can extend to Germany that can use the German people for the welfare of the world—either that alternative or extermination.

Mr. Denny: Thank you. Dr. Zierner, what do you say?

Dr. Zierner: This question talks about the truly great heritage of the German people. No doubt they've had one, but I would say that it has been very sadly submerged in the last twelve years. The last twelve years will cause the Germans a great deal of headache from now on.

Mr. Denny: Thank you. The GI here. Yes?

Man: My question is to Gregor Zierner. Are we not in a position to force unity of method and purpose through a world government founded on a Bill of Rights, an Atlantic Charter for all people?

Dr. Zierner: Yes.

Mr. Denny: Good, that was a short answer. The lady way back there in the blue dress.

Lady: I would like to know why all the speakers—

Mr. Denny: This is for Mr. Kaltenborn, isn't it?

Lady: Yes, Mr. Kaltenborn and all the other speakers. Why did they ignore the possibility of leadership among the Germans that were exiled by the Nazis in the early part of the war?

Mr. Denny: There, Mr. Kaltenborn, did you ignore the leadership of the Germans who were exiled by the Nazis in the early part of the war?

Mr. Kaltenborn: No, I didn't. I certainly would not ignore their leadership, but it's extremely difficult for anyone, who has been outside of Germany throughout the war period, to come back there and to be received as one who is in an effective position to help them to recover from the lost war. I think there is a natural resentment against anyone who has spent the war outside Germany. While they can play a certain role, I do not believe that it can be a dominating role in restoring self-respect to the Germans. That must come from within.

Mr. Denny: Thank you, Mr. Kaltenborn. Mr. Cherne?

Mr. Cherne: I think, as a matter of fact, our government deserves to be complimented for using many men like Gregor Zierner who spent many years in Germany before the war and using them now, using them during the war, and, I believe, using them intelligently.

Mr. Denny: Mr. Zierner?

Dr. Zierner: Don't call me a refugee, is all I say. (*Laughter.*)

Mr. Denny: Mr. Zierner, while you're on your feet, answer this question from Dayton, Ohio. You can understand why our committee picked this question. "Could a

genuine adult education movement be started in Germany by organizing integrated community forums with a nation-wide weekly radio summary similar to Town Meeting?"

Dr. Ziemer: Conducted by George Denny, you mean?

Mr. Denny: No, no, no, no, no. (*Laughter.*) I don't speak German.

Dr. Ziemer: I feel that, of course, the radio in Germany could do much more work than it is doing. But you'd be astonished how much difficulty there is. I received a letter last week—our group in Munich is trying to put the radio back on its feet in Germany and we used a German commentator under American auspices. Last week his wife was killed and he was wounded by snipers so they had to stop that business. In other words, I'm afraid it's too early for that sort of thing.

Mr. Denny: Thank you. The gentleman right here on the second row.

Man: Mr. Cherne, since international cartels were a contributing factor in the rise of nazism, do you think the representatives of America's most powerful monopolies are the proper people to direct the denazification of German industries. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Denny: Mr. Cherne, as the economist in our midst?

Mr. Cherne: Well, I think I'm going to surprise you. This information surprised me. On the

basis of 1939 production in Germany, in the American zone 1.2 per cent of 1939 production is now taking place. In the Russian zone, 16 per cent of 1939 production is taking place. I'm afraid we've been fed a great deal of myth about our failure to deindustrialize Germany and I have seen the deindustrialization myself.

Mr. Denny: Mr. Cherne—just a minute, Mr. Ziemer wants to get in on this.

Dr. Ziemer: Mr. Cherne, perhaps you should indicate, however, to be fair to everybody that, when you talk about industry in Bavaria, you should indicate, first of all, that Bavaria is almost exclusively agricultural and that its industries are small and far between. Wouldn't that be a good admission?

Mr. Cherne: As a matter of fact, I'm a little surprised at Mr. Ziemer. I wouldn't call I. G. Farben small and far between.

Dr. Ziemer: Well, it is very far now. (*Laughter.*)

Mr. Denny: Mr. Cherne, Mr. Solomon Gold of Brooklyn, New York, wants to know "Is the pampering of Nazi industrialists and the hesitancy of military authorities to wreck Nazi plants consistent with our policy of destroying Nazi war potentials?"

Mr. Cherne: The policy of pampering Nazi industrialists is completely inconsistent with our program of destroying the Ger-

man war potential, and our policy of wrecking Nazi plants is merely enabling us to destroy that machinery which could produce civilian goods for Europe.

In other words, like the little child who hits himself on the thumb with a hammer, he'll throw the hammer away. It's not the hammer that's bad; it was his aim. This machinery can be used if placed in the proper hands. We do not face the alternative of either keeping it in cartel hands or destroying it, and yet we think in precisely those black and white terms.

Mr. Denny: Mr. Kaltenborn, have you something to add to that?

Mr. Kaltenborn: Yes, I'd like to quote from the report of the National Engineer's Committee of the United States on the industrial disarmament of Germany. Here's what they say, ". . . elimination of German industries, leaving agriculture as the sole occupation, would produce an economic dislocation and social chaos of destructive magnitude, not alone in Germany, but throughout Europe. Adequate enforcement would be practically impossible. Furthermore, severe restrictions of this nature probably would be repudiated by world public opinion in a relatively short time, resulting in a repetition of the aftermath of World War I."

That's what the American engineers think about the Morgenthau

proposal to destroy German industry.

Mr. Denny: Thank you, Mr. Kaltenborn, Leo Cherne, Dr. Lindeman, and Dr. Ziemer, for your genuine contribution to tonight's discussion. Now, while our judges make their decision on tonight's winning question, here's our announcer, to tell you about next week's program.

Announcer: What is your opinion on the question, "Should Congress Approve the Proposed Four-and-Three-Quarter Billion Dollar Loan to Britain?" This is more than a banking question. It's one of policy, which must be approved or disapproved by the American people through their representatives in Congress. The terms have already been worked out by the representatives of the two governments and have been approved by the British House of Commons and the House of Lords. This will be one of the first subjects up before our Congress when it reconvenes this month.

A distinguished American businessman, the Chairman of the Board of the General Electric Co., Mr. Philip D. Reed, for more than a year head of the Harriman mission, handling lend-lease in England, and Senator George L. Radcliffe, Democrat of Maryland, member of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee, say most emphatically, "Yes, the proposed loan should be approved." Mr. Merryle Stanley

MAY 2
1947

Rukeyser, columnist and financial writer for the Hearst papers, and Senator C. Wayland Brooks, Republican of Illinois, member of the Senate Commerce and Appropriations Committee, say "No."

Why not invite your friends over for a Town Meeting discussion group of your own next Thursday night? And now, here is Mr. Denny to announce the decision of our judges for the winner of tonight's \$25 Victory Bond. Mr. Denny.

Mr. Denny: Thank you. It seems that the committee has awarded two \$25 Victory Bonds; one to a member of the audience, whose name we didn't get and I'll tell you the question in just a moment. I want to remind you that if you want to send in a question for next week's broadcast, it must reach us not later than noon on Wednesday before the broadcast. Limit your

question to 25 words. Questions will be judged on the basis of their ability to bring out facts and to clarify the discussion. The decision of the judges will be final. Address your questions and your orders for a Bulletin of tonight's discussion, as well as your comments on tonight's program, to Town Hall, New York 18, N.Y.

Now, our committee of judges awards two \$25 Victory Bonds for this question and one similar to it asked by a gentleman here in the audience: "Is the pampering of nazi industrialists and the hesitancy of military authorities to wreck nazi plants consistent with our policy of destroying nazi war potential?" Is that correct? Is that the one? All right that goes to Mr. Solomon Gold of Brooklyn, N.Y. Congratulations, Mr. Gold. (*Applause.*)